

A HARVEST GATHERED

*Food
in the
New
World*





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A Harvest Gathered: Food in the New World

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NOVEMBER 13, 1989 - APRIL 29, 1990

PREPARED BY
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“The greatest care and precaution have been taken to admit nothing inelegant, or prejudicial to the constitution, in any of the receipts in this book.”

John Farley. *The London art of cookery*. London, 1789.



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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to the following members of the JCB staff for their assistance in the preparation of this exhibit and catalogue: Dr. A.F. Günther Buchheim, Susan Danforth, Karen DeMaria, Dr. Norman Fiering, Lynne Harrell, Richard Hurley, Frana Low, and Susan Newbury.

Thanks are also due to Professor Barry Higman (University of the West Indies) for his bibliographic suggestions and to Professor Daniel Gade (University of Vermont) and Professor William Crossgrove (Brown University) for their suggestions concerning the text.

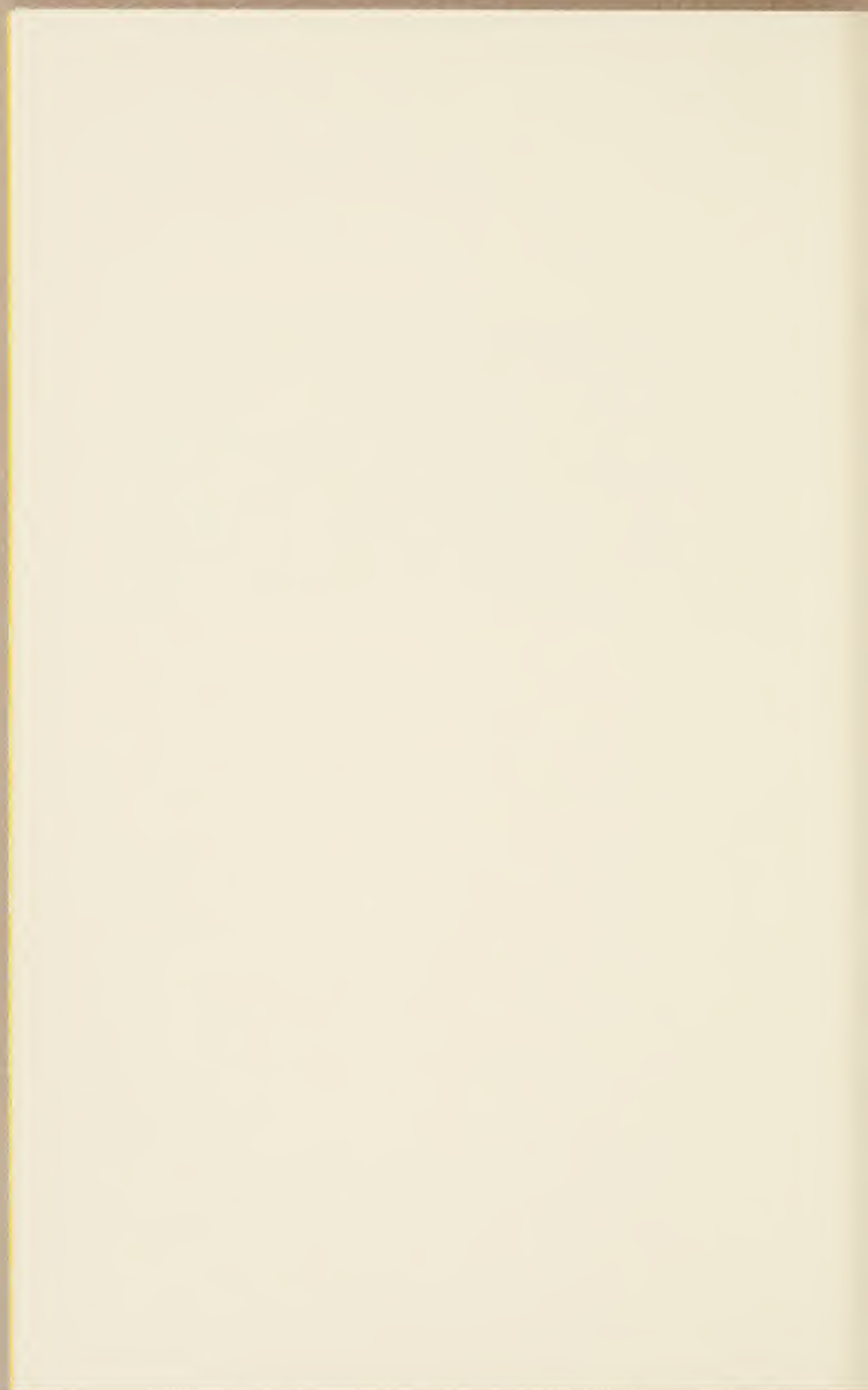
The quotations used with the De Bry materials are from: *Discovering the New World: Based on the Works of Theodore De Bry*, edited by Michael Alexander. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.



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COLUMBUS'S VOYAGE TO THE NEW WORLD initiated a series of encounters and exchanges between Europe and the Americas, the ramifications of which are still being felt today. The biological diffusion, including the exchange of foods, is one of the under-recorded yet important aspects of this great transfer. Foods native to the Americas have contributed several staples to the world food supply. Other plants, while not basic nutrients, have also imparted a wonderful variety of foodstuffs and flavors to numerous cuisines. The primary sources displayed in this exhibit document the identification of New World foods and their procurement, preparation, and consumption as one aspect of the colonial history of the Americas.



I. Foodstuffs

VARIETY AND EXCHANGE are two major themes in the history of food in the New World. The wide range of indigenous fruits and vegetables, combined with the crops and animals introduced from the Old World, provided both colonists and native Americans with an unprecedented diversity in their diets.

Beginning with Columbus, foods native to the Americas were introduced to Europe and eventually to Asia and Africa. These foods included starchy staples such as the potato, the sweet potato, maize, and manioc as well as more exotic contributions such as the avocado, papaya, pineapple, tomato, chili peppers, and cocoa. Today, nearly thirty percent of the world's cultivated plants came from the New World.

From the other direction, European plants accompanied settlers on their voyages across the ocean. This transfer of crops to the Americas was necessary to entice potential colonists by making the move palatable, in the most literal sense of the word. The introduction of Old World plants more than doubled the quantity of cultivated foods in the New World. To a large degree, the successful expansion and exploitation of the New World by Europeans was dependent on their ability to transform the food supply in the Americas. By 1500, these changes had already begun and within half a century would become irrevocable. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, all of the most important European foods were being cultivated in the Americas.

1. "Of Potatoes" in: John Gerard. *The herball or generall historie of plantes*. London, 1597.

At the time of the Conquest, approximately three thousand varieties of potatoes were being grown in the Andean region of South America, where they have been cultivated for over four

thousand years. Andean farmers also perfected the first freeze-dried method of preserving potatoes. The resulting *chuño* was easily transported and could be stored for half a dozen years without spoiling.

For the first centuries after its introduction in Europe, the potato was little more than a curiosity, a novelty food eaten by the middle and upper segments of society; it was even considered an aphrodisiac. After a series of famines in the second half of the eighteenth century, European monarchs encouraged its production and the potato crop began to replace peasant dependence on wheat.

This woodcut is the first published illustration of the white potato, as distinguished from the sweet potato, also of New World origin. The English had already known about the plant since the publication of Richard Eden's translation of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's *Decades* in 1555, which gave a written description.

(Gift of Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf)

2. "[Sweet potato]" in: Willem Piso. *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*. Leiden and Amsterdam, 1648.

One difficulty in tracing the history of the potato's importation to the Old World arises from an early confusion of names. The word first came into English representing a different plant transported from the Caribbean, the sweet potato. The word "batata," used by the Taino Indians of Hispaniola, and pronounced "patata" by the Spanish, was transformed into "potato" by the English. When the white potato from the Andes was introduced, it was also called potato, although it belongs to an entirely separate taxonomic family.

The woodcut on the right illustrating the sweet potato is included in this discussion of *materia medica* written by Willem Piso, personal physician to Prince Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, the governor of Dutch Brazil from 1638 to 1644. Piso's work on Brazilian natural history remained one of the most important texts on the subject until the nineteenth century.

M A N D I H O C A .



Fig. 1.

Manioc.

From: Willem Piso, *De Indiae utriusque re naturali et medica libri quatuordecim* (Amsterdam, 1658), p.114. (See item 4).

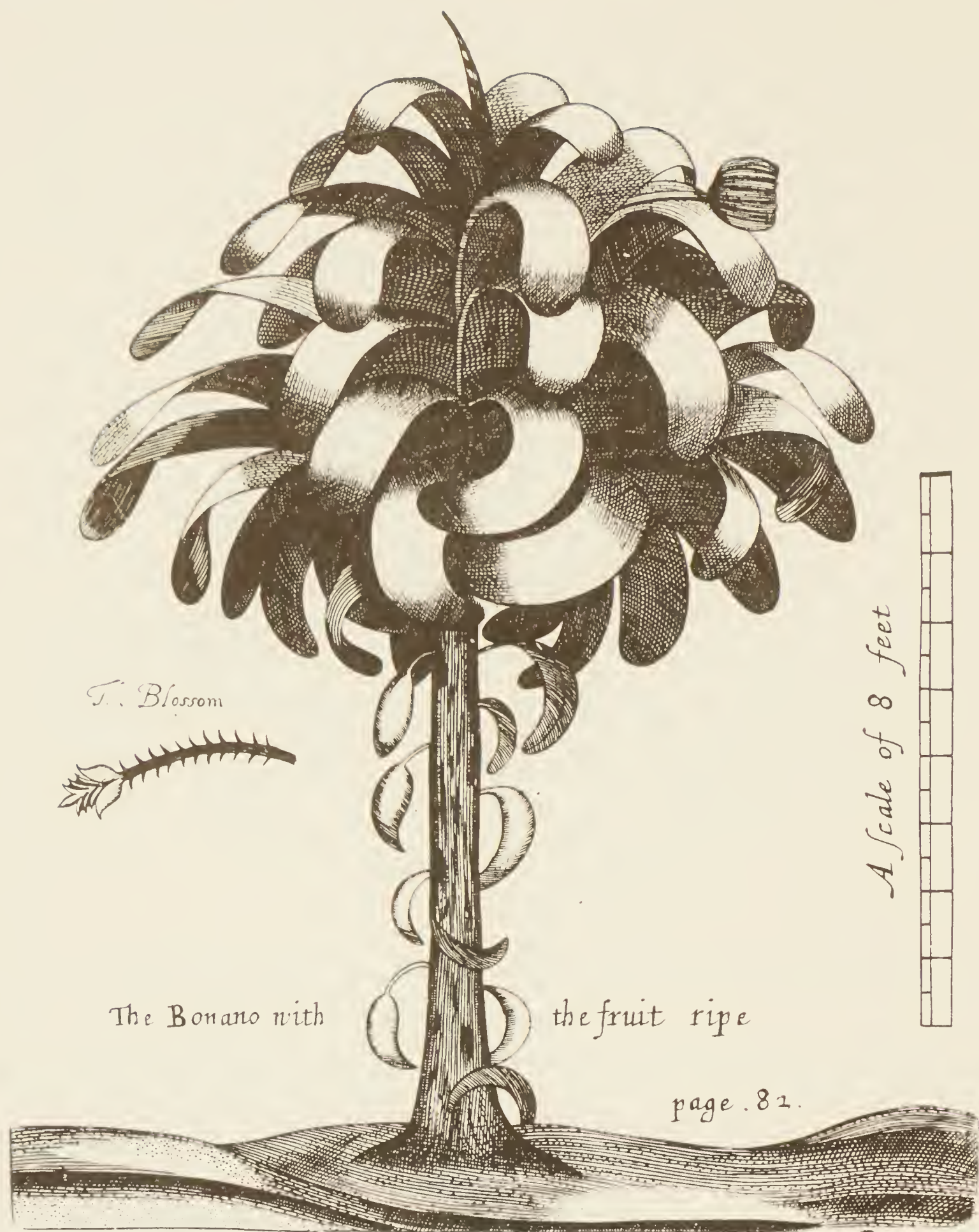


Fig. 2.

Banana tree.

From: Richard Ligon, *A true & exact history of the island of Barbados* (London, 1657), facing p.82. (See item 7).

3. "[Maize]" in: Giovanni Battista Ramusio. *Terzo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi*. Venice, 1606.

Maize production originated in southern Mexico and had spread throughout pre-Columbian America by the time of the Discovery. Along with the potato, it was a primary food of the Incas in Peru and an important staple in Mesoamerica and North America as well. Although Europeans in the Old World were slow to accept potatoes as anything other than a curiosity, maize quickly became an important element of the colonial diet. By the end of the seventeenth century, it was also widely grown in Spain, France, Italy, and Africa. Today, maize is one of the most important foods for man and, in some places, for livestock.

4. "[Manioc/Processing manioc roots]" in: Willem Piso. *De Indiae utriusque re naturali et medica libri quatuordecim*. Amsterdam, 1658.

Manioc, also called cassava, is a major American staple in tropical areas, but is little known in the temperate zones, where it is familiar only as tapioca served for dessert. In the African and Asian tropics, however, manioc has made as important a contribution to the food supply as corn and the potato have in North America and Europe.

This completely revised second edition of *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* illustrates the manioc plant as well as the process of macerating the roots to make flour. Cassava was extensively cultivated in the New World as slave provisions.

5. "The Bread fruit of Otaheite" in: Bryan Edwards. *The history, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies*. London, 1801.

The breadfruit still is grown as a staple in the Pacific tropics and the West Indies. The British naval vessel *Bounty*, under Captain William Bligh, was transporting breadfruit plants to Jamaica when the famous mutiny led by Fletcher Christian occurred in April 1789. Bligh finally succeeded in introducing the fruit to the West Indies in January 1793.

This engraving is in Edwards's three-volume work on the history of the West Indies. The author believed that the cultivation

of breadfruit would aid in lessening the islands' dependence on North America "for food and necessities; and not only supply subsistence for future generations, but probably furnish fresh incitements to industry, new improvements in the arts, and new subjects of commerce!"

6. "[Pineapple]" in: Adam Taylor. *A treatise on the ananas or pine-apple*. Devizes (England), 1769.

This brief manual contains directions for growing pineapples in England without the aid of artificial heat. The author notes that "the ananas or pineapple, in deliciousness of taste and exquisite flavour, so far exceeds all other fruits, that the production of it in any tolerable degree of excellence is become the fashionable test of good gardening." Unfortunately, Taylor's treatise did not prove of practical worth in Britain's cold and damp climate.

7. "The Bonana with the fruit ripe" in: Richard Ligon. *A true & exact history of the island of Barbados*. London, 1657.

Believed to have originated in tropical Asia, the banana was brought to Santo Domingo from the Canary Islands by the Spaniards in 1516. It was also taken to the wet lowlands of Peru within a generation of the Conquest there. Large international production and trade of the fruit, however, began only in the late nineteenth century with the development of refrigerated transport.

Today the banana is a staple in the tropics and a popular fruit in the temperate regions. This highly stylized rendering of a banana tree illustrates Ligon's history of Barbados. The author was a resident of the island from 1647 to 1650.

8. "Garica Papaya L." in: Johann Zorn. *Dreyhundert auserlesene amerikanische Gewächse nach Linneischer Ordnung*. Nuremberg, 1788.

This illustration of the papaya is one of three hundred American plants described in Zorn's three-volume set published between 1785 and 1788. The work contains all of the plants in Jacquin's *Selectarum stirpium Americanum historia* of 1780-1781. The plant was also called a melon tree and pawpaw.



Fig. 3.

Strawberry.

From: Amédée François Frézier, *A voyage to the South-Sea, and along the coasts of Chile and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714* (London, 1717), facing p.76. (See item 9).

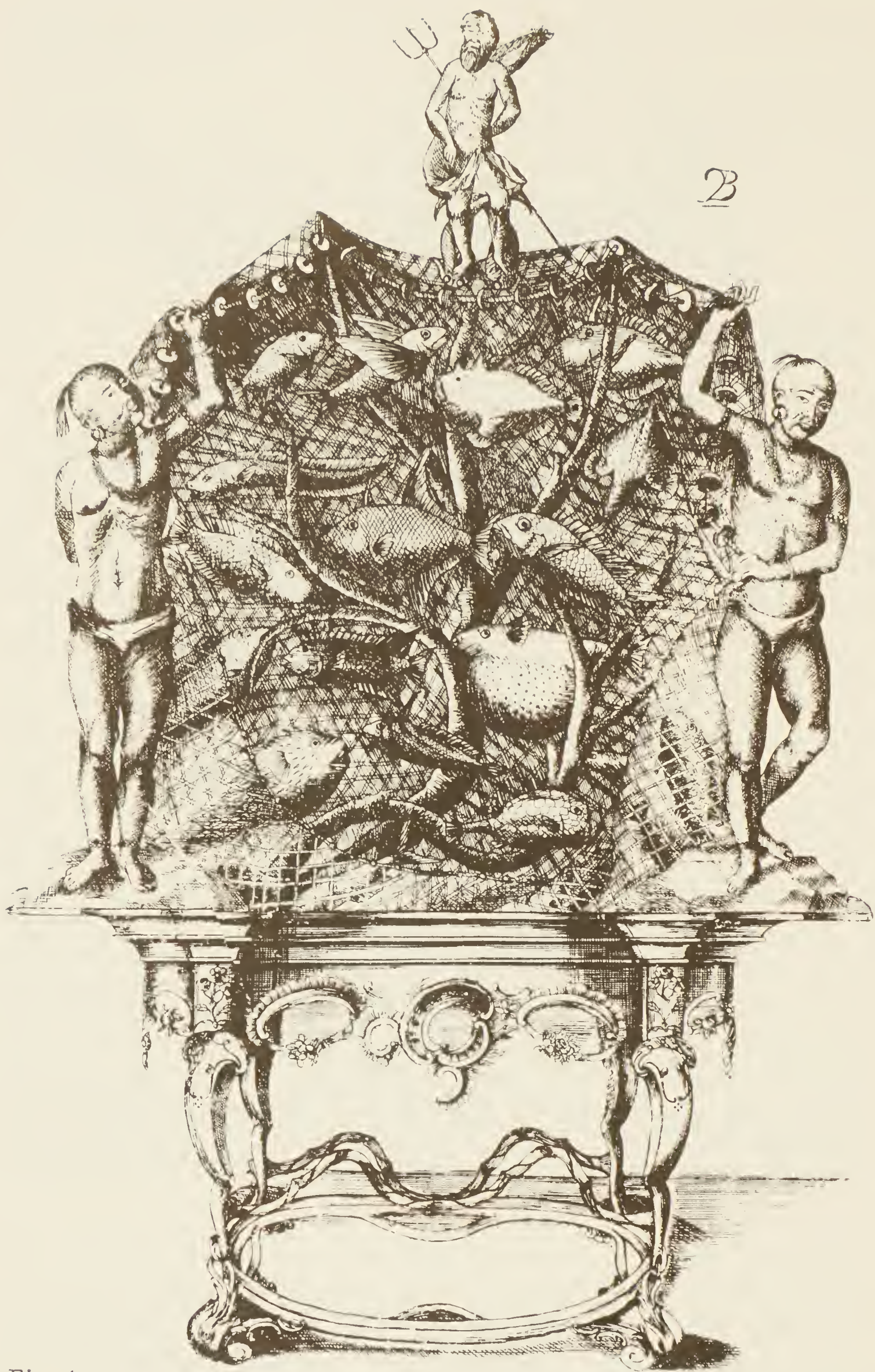


Fig. 4.

Fish and natives.

From: Antonio Parra, *Descripcion de diferentes piezas de historia natural* (Havana, 1787), fold-out plate B, between p.2 and p.3. (See item 13).

9. "Fraise du Chili dessiné de grandeur naturelle" in: Amédée François Frézier. *A voyage to the South-Sea, and along the coasts of Chile and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714.* London, 1717.

Amédée Frézier was a French royal military engineer under contract to the Spanish government. He was commissioned to sail to its colonies in South America to construct forts against English and Dutch attacks. He was also under orders from the French government to prepare charts of the western coast of South America for possible military use. His book includes descriptions of the chief towns of Chile and Peru as well as information of considerable geographic and scientific value. Most important for our purposes here, however, Frézier introduced one of the ancestors of the modern strawberry to France, where it was called the "fraise du Chili."

10. "Limes, Capsicum, Mammy Apple &c" in: John Gabriel Stedman. *Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America; from the year 1772, to 1777.* London, 1796.

John Stedman was a British soldier who volunteered for an expedition against runaway slaves in Dutch-controlled Surinam, who were called the Cottica Rebels. When he arrived, most of the fighting had concluded, and Stedman devoted his time to keeping the journals that became the basis for this work. In addition to writing of his military exploits, he also described the colony's history and the customs of the planters, Indians, and slaves.

The *Narrative* also contains descriptions of local animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and plants. Stedman wrote of the cayenne, pimento, and capsicum peppers (illustrations B, C, and D respectively in this engraving by William Blake): "They all equally exco-riate the mouth, have all the same fiery qualities, and when ripe are of a scarlet or rather a blood colour. The Europeans [in Surinam] seldom eat anything without it; but the blacks, and especially the Indians, swallow it I might say by handfuls, not only as a relish, but as a remedy in almost every disease."

11. "Tortoise" in: Charles de Rochefort. *The history of the Caribby-Islands*. London, 1666.

The author describes catching turtles in the Cayman Islands by surprising the creatures when they are laying their eggs and turning them over onto their backs. "Being in that posture they are not able to recover themselves, but continue so till the next day that they are brought thence in Shallops to the Ships. When they are thus turned upside-down, they are observ'd to shed tears, and are heard to sigh." These tortoises were marketed throughout the Caribbean, "where they sell that salted Tortoise, and it becomes the sustenance of the ordinary sort of people, and the slaves." Besides the meat, fricassees and omelettes could be made from the eggs, although Rochefort thought these tasted a bit drier than those cooked from hen's eggs.

(Gift of John Nicholas Brown)

12. "[Hens, turkeys, ducks, fish]" in: *The present state of Jamaica*. London, 1683.

This essay is based in part on Sir Thomas Lynch's "The State of Jamaica," which was published the following year in *The Laws of Jamaica*. The author's intent was to portray Jamaica under British rule in the most favorable light: "And tho' it has been but a short time in the hands of the English, yet it hath Augmented itself to that vast strength, by reason of its great Trade and number of inhabitants." The passage shown here describes the abundance of fowl, fish, and tortoises available for consumption.

13. "[Fish and natives]" in: Antonio Parra. *Descripcion de diferentes piezas de historia natural*. Havana, 1787.

Parra's book includes seventy-five non-scientific descriptions and illustrations of marine life. One of the earliest examples of printing produced in Havana, this work contains the first copperplate illustrations engraved in Cuba. The printer, Esteban José Boloña, was later appointed printer for the Spanish Royal Navy.

14. "[Crabs]" in: Griffith Hughes. *The natural history of Barbados*. London, 1750.

Griffith Hughes was born in Wales and graduated from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1748. Two years later, already a member of the Royal Society and a competent botanist, he published this natural history, while serving as rector of St. Lucy's Parish in Barbados. A majority of the illustrations were drawn by Georg Dionys Ehret, a famed botanical artist of German birth who worked in England.

In addition to its scientific information and finely executed illustrations, the book also quotes the Scriptures as well as classical and contemporary authors. For this chapter on crustaceous animals, Hughes reminds the reader of the poet John Milton's description of shell fish:

Within their pearly Shells at Ease attend
Moist nourishment, or under Rocks their Food
In jointed Armour watch

15. "The Cat Fish" in: Mark Catesby. *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*. London, 1771.

Mark Catesby, often referred to as the colonial Audubon, was a British-born naturalist. He undertook two major studies of North American natural history, from 1712 to 1719 and from 1722 to 1726. The express purpose of the latter study was to collect, illustrate, and describe the natural products of the southeast. The result was his *Natural history*, which included plants, birds, fish, animals, and reptiles. The illustrations and descriptive text became a major source throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries for the understanding of the natural history of the regions.

Most of Catesby's engravings were based on watercolor sketches he produced in the field, but he also used live or preserved specimens available to him in England. Occasionally he also added information from other sources. Seven of the plates and part of an eighth were derived from copies of paintings made by John White during Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke expeditions in the sixteenth century. This catfish illustration is one such plate.

16. "[Pineapple]" in: Maria Sibylla Merian. *Dissertatio de generatione et metamorphosisibus insectorum Surinamensium*. Amsterdam, 1719.

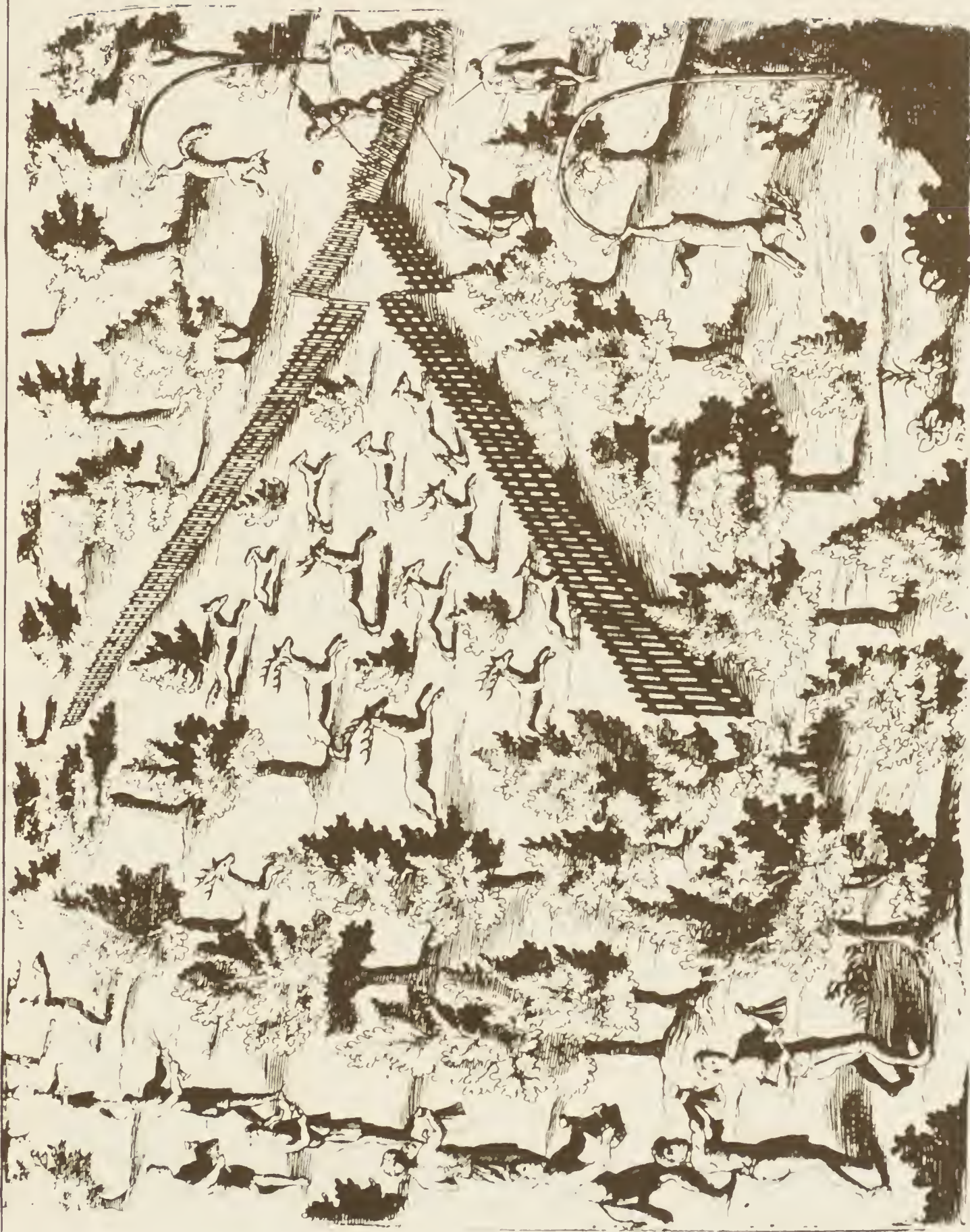
Merian's early artistic influences included her father, an engraver, and her stepfather, the accomplished floral painter Jacob Marrel. In 1699, she and her daughter went unaccompanied to Surinam, where she painted the native plant and insect life. Her accuracy, technical excellence, and vibrant artistic skill, along with her noteworthy research in natural history, have given her a wide reputation in scientific circles.

This beautiful illustration is one of seventy-two plates based on her work in Surinam. On the back of each plate is a handwritten English translation of the accompanying Latin text. The pineapple is thus described: "In this fruit the taste of the grapes, the pomegranate, the gooseberry, the apple and the pear are mingled yet so that each of them may be distinguished; the smell is grateful in the highest degree and when one of them is cut, it fills the whole room with the scent . . . it is eaten either raw or boiled & the spirit is sometimes extracted by pressing & distillation and is (either way) of a most delicious table exceeding anything else of this kind."

II. Procurement/Cultivation/Production

DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD in the New World, food was procured not only to obtain essential sustenance for survival, but also for the market, both domestic and export. The different attitudes which indigenous and colonial societies had toward food and its production—as the basis of self-sufficiency, as produce in local commerce, or as a commodity in international trade—were reflected in their influences on the land. The settlers wished to duplicate not only the food products but also the agricultural techniques and landscapes with which they were familiar.

This need for the familiar, along with the desire for wealth, led to the development of monocultural agriculture for export to Europe. Cash crops, particularly cacao, coffee, and sugar, also brought the growth of slavery to the New World. Some ten to twelve million Africans were brought involuntarily to the New World before 1870.



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Fig. 5.

Indian deer hunt.

From: Samuel de Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada* (Paris, 1632), p.265. (See item 18).



Fig. 6.

Gathering maple sugar.

From: Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), facing p.155. (See item 21).

Theodor De Bry's engravings of the New World

Theodor De Bry (1528-1598), a Frankfurt engraver and publisher of Flemish descent, is best known for his series of printed books that illustrated the wonders of the New World. Known as the *Grands voyages*, the series eventually ran to fourteen volumes. Each book included texts about the Americas adapted from the writings of well-known authors such as Thomas Hariot, José de Acosta, Sir Walter Raleigh, Hans Staden, and Girolamo Benzoni, as well as copperplate engravings produced by De Bry and his family. Along with a myriad of historical, anthropological, and ethnological detail, the illustrations also mirror European perceptions of the New World, its inhabitants, and their customs.

17. “[Stag hunting]” in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages. Part two*. Frankfurt, 1603.

Game was an essential part of the diet of northern woodland Indians and the European settlers who later came to the area. The skins were used for clothing and as camouflage, as illustrated here.

The settlers admired the skill and technique with which the natives hunted deer. The text by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, whose original drawings served as the basis for the engravings in this volume, reads in part: “Nowhere have we seen stag hunting as the Indians do it. They put themselves inside the skins of the largest stags they have been able to kill, so that their heads are in those of the animals. As with a mask, they see out through the holes of the eyes. Thus dressed they can approach the deer closely without frightening them.”

18. “[Indian deer hunt]” in: Samuel de Champlain. *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada*. Paris, 1632.

This illustration of a deer hunt in New France is found in Champlain's account of his life's work in the New World, which is considered the principal source for the early decades of French involvement in North America. Champlain emphasizes the colony's potential for development and its agricultural and natural resources, and also provides information about native American cultures.

19. "[Cultivation and sowing]" in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages. Part two*. Frankfurt, 1591.

"The Indians cultivate the earth with diligence. . . . Once the earth has been well broken up and levelled, the women sow beans or millet or maize. To do this they are helped by people who precede them with a stick, and make holes in the soil where the grain or bean or millet is thrown. The sowing completed, they leave the field alone." Le Moyne also noted that the hoes were made from fish bones attached to wooden handles. Whale and manatee bones as well as wood were also used for agricultural implements.

Jean Ribaut, who commanded a French expedition to Florida in 1562, wrote of the Indians that "in their gardens they plant beans, gourds, cowcumbers, citrons, paesen, and many other simples and rootes unknnon to us."

20. "[Natives fishing]" in: Hans Staden. *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft*. Marburg, 1557.

Hans Staden was a German mercenary in the service of the Portuguese in Brazil when he was captured by the Tupinambá Indians near São Vicente in 1554. Despite the hardships he endured during captivity, which included being threatened with execution, he was able to narrate his adventures in a straightforward, matter-of-fact manner. He provided many details of the manners and customs of the Tupinambá, including their cannibalistic rituals. This woodcut shows the natives fishing with bow and arrow as well as with their hands.

21. "[Gathering maple sugar]" in: Joseph François Lafitau. *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains*. Paris, 1724.

Maple syrup and sugar are obtained from both the sugar maple and black maple trees. The sap flows intermittently during the spring, when it is collected, strained, and then boiled. Syrup and sugar obtained from these trees were eventually replaced in the nineteenth century by cane sugar as the most common sweetener in the United States.

This influential book by Joseph Lafitau, a Jesuit missionary, concentrates on New France, where the author had served among the Iroquois. Comparing Amerindian culture to that of the ancient

Greeks and Romans, the author presented in great detail the manners, traditions, and religious beliefs of the natives.

22. "Of the situation, feelings, and pleasures of an American farmer" in: J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur. *Letters from an American farmer*. London, 1782.

Born in France, Crèvecoeur came to Canada under the French general Montcalm. He later worked as a surveyor and traveled in the Great Lakes region, the Ohio Valley, and throughout the English colonies. He settled on a farm in New York in 1769 and became one of the first "casualties" of the War of Independence when Indian allies of Great Britain destroyed his property.

Crèvecoeur wrote his letters in English during the war and translated them into French. They soon appeared in German and Dutch editions as well. Considered a major contribution to early American literature, the letters helped to establish an appreciation of the values of rural life. Crèvecoeur also wrote agricultural articles for American newspapers under the pseudonym "Agricola" and introduced several European crops, notably alfalfa, to America.

(Gift of John Nicholas Brown)

23. "Plan of an American new cleared farm" in: Patrick Campbell. *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America. In the years 1791 and 1792*. Edinburgh, 1793.

This copperplate engraving clearly shows the English colonists' influence on the land. From the beginning, settlers cleared the land and fenced their property in accordance with European customs. This practice was in stark contrast to the traditions of the native American population which allowed game to roam freely, practiced companion planting of maize and beans, and did not plant in the same fields in consecutive years. The differences in these food production methods were the cause of many confrontations between the newcomers and the Amerindians.

24. "[Shipping containers for plants and seeds]" in: John Ellis. *Directions for bringing over seeds and plants, from the East-Indies and other distant countries, in a state of vegetation.* London, 1770.

Ellis was a British naturalist whom Linnaeus termed "a bright star of natural history" and "the main support of natural history in England." He was a merchant in London until 1764 when he was appointed agent for West Florida, to which was added the agency for Dominica in 1770. This position gave him access to many correspondents in the colonies, and he used the opportunity to import American seeds. This work was written to improve the chances of survival and successful propagation of seeds from foreign lands and also included was a list of plants to be sent to the British colonies. Ellis also published works on the breadfruit, mangostan, and coffee tree.

25. "Coffee Arabica" in: John Ellis. *An historical account of coffee.* London, 1774.

Believed to be native to Ethiopia, coffee was introduced into Arabia by the fifteenth century and from there spread to Egypt and Turkey. By the mid-seventeenth century, it had reached most of Europe and soon thereafter was introduced to North America, although it only surpassed tea as the preferred American beverage after the latter fell out of favor following the Boston Tea Party.

The Dutch introduced coffee to Surinam in 1718, and Jamaica received the plant by the 1730s. Its production soon spread throughout the tropical regions of the New World.

26. "Theobroma Cacao" and "Eugenho moido por animaes" in: José Mariano da Conceição Velloso. *O fazendeiro do Brazil.* Lisbon, 1798-1806.

The Brazilian Frei Velloso was entrusted by the Portuguese government with the responsibility of translating and editing foreign books useful in the development of agriculture, industry, and the arts. Of all the works Velloso produced, this collection in ten parts is the most important.

In his preface, the author expressed his hopes for the progress of Brazil and his belief that prosperity could be had if lands were

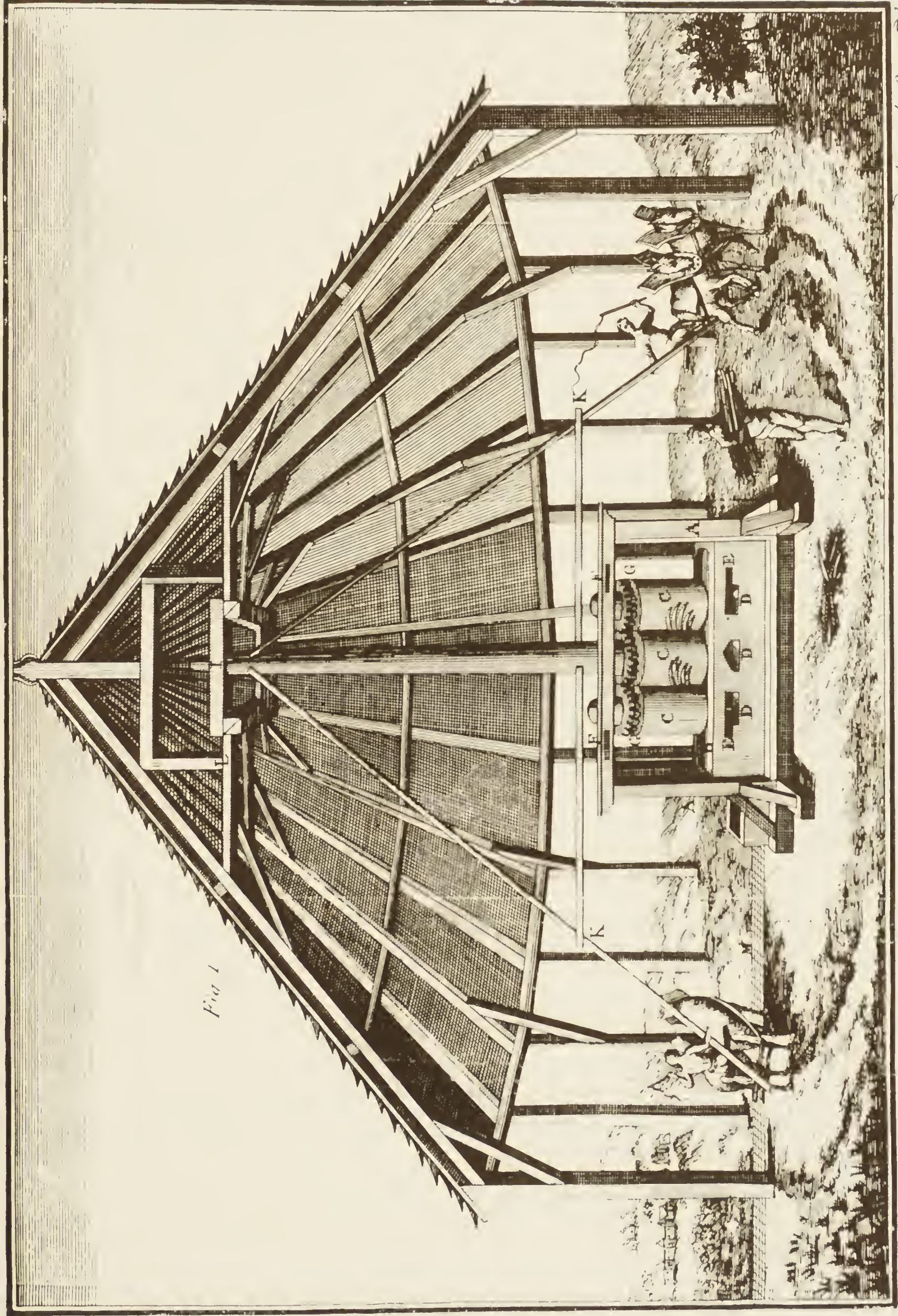


Fig. 7.

Sugar mill.

From: José Mariano da Conceição Velloso, *O fazendeiro do Brazil* (Lisbon, 1798-1806), Volume 2, plate 2. (See item 26).

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Fig. 8.

Grinding maize.

From: Amédée François Frézier, *Reis-beschryving door de Zuid-Zee, langs de kusten van Chili, Peru en Brazil* (Amsterdam, 1718), facing p.62. (See item 31).

cultivated more wisely, new crops were introduced, and modern technology was employed. He found the yields of Brazil's sugar mills insignificant compared to those in the English colonies. Unfortunately, his work had few practical results due to the lack of commercial book distribution in Brazil.

The ten parts are assigned to five volumes covering (1) sugar, (2) dyes, (3) coffee and cacao, (4) herbs, spices, and tobacco, and (5) cotton and other raw textile materials. Shown here are plates depicting the cacao plant and a sugar mill.

(Louisa Dexter Sharpe Metcalf Fund)

III. Preparation

THE TRANSMISSION OF CULINARY KNOWLEDGE in native American cultures has traditionally been through oral means and by example. The illustrations and written explanations shown here describing indigenous methods of food preparation are, of course, not taken from Indian sources but from European accounts of exploration, discovery, and encounter. It is these publications which gave Europeans their information about the foods and cooking of the inhabitants of the New World.

In Europe, manuscript cookbooks were being produced by the fourteenth century and the first printed cookbook, Platina's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* [*Of honest indulgence and good health*] dates from 1475. Recipes also appeared in instructional manuals which contained directions for preparing medicines, alcohol, dyes, and other household items as well as foods. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that general cookbooks and housekeepers' guides began to be published and a century later for the first cookbook to be printed in America.

Early recipes, whether found in histories, cookbooks, or manuals, serve not only as sources for culinary and nutritional studies but also for broader social histories, providing information concerning consumption patterns as well as available ingredients and methods of preparation in a particular time and place. These documents also reveal how interests and tastes (in the most literal sense) have changed over time.

27. "[The broiling of their fish over the flame]" in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages. Part one*. Frankfurt, 1590.

In 1585, Queen Elizabeth granted Sir Walter Raleigh the rights to create a colony, named "Virginia" for the Virgin Queen, in what is now North Carolina. The project was abandoned after one year due to lack of food and other supplies, hostile relations with the native population, the absence of immediate riches such as gold and silver, and dissent among the settlers.

Thomas Hariot, an Oxford mathematician and chief scientist on this failed venture, wrote *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* in part to promote British settlement in North America and also to counteract negative publicity concerning the failed colonization. The book, along with Hariot's added notes on the Indians and engravings based on John White's illustrations, appeared in 1590 as the first part of *Grands voyages*, De Bry's series on the discovery of the New World.

Hariot wrote that the indigenous people he encountered did not smoke their fish for use later like the natives of Florida (see item # 32) but only broiled the fish, as shown here, for immediate consumption. The author also noted the variety of seafood available: sturgeon, herring, trout, porpoises, rays, and mullet as well as crabs, oysters, mussels, scallops, periwinkles, and tortoises.

28. "[Their seething of their meate in earthen pots]" in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages. Part one*. Frankfurt, 1590.

"They or their women fill the vessel with water, and then put they in fruit, flesh, and fish, and let all boil together like a galliemaufrye, which the Spaniards call olla podrida. Then they put it out into dishes, and set it before the company, and then they make good cheer."

29. "Indigenous beer preparation" in: André Thevet. *La cosmographie universelle*. Paris, 1575.

The Franciscan friar André Thevet came to Brazil with Villegaignon, who unsuccessfully attempted to establish a French colony there in the 1550s known as "La France Antarctique." He describes the Tupinambá Indians and the fruits and animals in exact detail, although it is not known if the information he reports

is firsthand knowledge or gathered from other sources. The woodcuts in the book illustrate various aspects of daily life of the Brazilian natives, which later served as models for De Bry's engravings. The illustration shown here depicts the preparation of manioc beer in which the root was first chewed to initiate fermentation. This process is still employed by some indigenous peoples in South America.

30. "[Preparing bread]" in: Girolamo Benzoni. *La historia del Mondo Nuovo*. Venice, 1572.

At the age of twenty-two, the Italian Girolamo Benzoni left his homeland to find adventure and fortune in the New World. He spent fifteen years in the Spanish colonies, travelling through the Caribbean, Central America, Mexico, and the northern portion of South America. The record of his experiences included many details of local color, as represented in this woodcut depicting breadmaking. As Benzoni was also highly critical of Spanish colonial rule, his *Historia* was often reprinted as anti-Spanish propaganda and played an important part in creating the "Black Legend," of Spanish activity in the New World.

31. "[Grinding maize]" in: Amédée François Frézier. *Reis-beschryving door de Zuid-Zee, langs de kusten van Chili, Peru en Brazil*. Amsterdam, 1718.

This Dutch translation of Frézier's highly acclaimed description of his voyage to South America and the Pacific (also see #9) includes this engraving of a Chilean Indian woman grinding corn, a process the author described as the major domestic task of the native women. Frézier wrote of the several ways the Chilean natives prepared corn: ground into meal, boiled in water, parched in sand in an earthen pot, cooked into hasty pudding, and brewed into beer.

32. "[Mode of drying fish, game and other provisions]" in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages. Part two*. Frankfurt, 1609.

Jacques Le Moyne De Morgues accompanied Laudonnière to Florida in 1564-1565 as the expedition's artist. His account of the attempt to establish a French settlement, with engravings based on

his illustrations, was published as the second part of De Bry's *Grands voyages*.

This representation of the Timucua Indians of northeast Florida shows fish, game, and other provisions being preserved for later consumption, although it is unlikely that these animals would be cured without first being butchered. Smoking allowed the Indians to store meat and fish supplies for the winter season.

33. "[Manioc preparation]" in: Jean Baptiste Labat. *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amerique*. Paris, 1722.

Manioc roots are a staple food in the tropics. Most manioc flour is made from a variety of the root which contains prussic acid in sufficient quantities to be deadly if not removed. This engraving shows the process of dispelling the poison. Jean Labat, a former professor, came to the islands as a Dominican missionary in 1693 and remained there for twelve years, during which time he established a prosperous sugar plantation. He relates island history in a lively, anecdotal style and describes the major crops—sugar, tobacco, indigo, and cotton—as well as the slave system, in detail.

34. "The cookery, or dressing of fish" in: John Collins. *Salt and fishery*. London, 1682.

Collins was a mathematician who served as an accountant to the Royal Fishery Company. His publications included works on accounting, maritime navigation, trade, and other topics of popular interest. This volume discusses various ways of catching and preparing fish and describes several methods of producing and using salt to preserve all types of food. Collins described his techniques as "extraordinary experiments in preserving butter, flesh, fish, fowl, fruits, and roots, fresh and sweet for long keeping."

(Lathrop C. Harper Fund)

35. "Huevos" in: Francisco Martínez Montañón. *Arte de cocina, pasteleria, vizcocheria, y conserveria*. Madrid, 1778.

Francisco Martínez Montañón, referred to on the title page as the chief cook to the king of Spain, wrote this cookbook because of the paucity of guides available for "professional" chefs, particularly in Spain. In addition to 400 pages of recipes, the author

included advice on cleanliness in the kitchen and on serving banquets; suggestions for special meals for spring, fall, and Christmas; and information on preserving food and preparing jellies. An earlier edition of this work was brought to New Spain by Don Diego de Vargas, the late seventeenth-century governor of New Mexico.

36. "To roast quails" in: Susannah Carter. *The frugal housewife, or complete woman cook*. Boston, 1772.

This first edition of *The frugal housewife* is one of the earliest cookbooks printed in America. Seven later editions were published in both the United States and England between 1790 and 1803. The advertisement for its sale proclaimed, "N.B. Any person by attending to the instructions given in this book, may soon attain a complete knowledge, in the art of cookery, &c." It contains five hundred recipes for roasting, boiling, frying, and broiling. Preparations for gravies, stews, hashes, soups, fricassees, and ragouts are also given, along with instructions for preserving foods and making "English wines." Shown here is a page of recipes for roasting fowl such as quail, geese, and pigeons.

37. "Chicken Broth" in: John Farley. *The London art of cookery*. London, 1789.

The author of this popular British cookbook was the principal cook at the London Tavern and prepared the volume for beginning as well as experienced cooks. Like *The frugal housewife*, Farley's book covered essential skills and dishes, but also included advice on ancillary topics: elegant ornaments for entertaining, instructions for carving, necessary articles for sea-faring persons, warnings concerning culinary poisons, and proper nourishment for the sick. In the last category is found this recipe for chicken broth, still considered by some to be a panacea.

(Gift of John Nicholas Brown Center)

38. "Bill of fare for November" in: Richard Briggs. *The new art of cookery*. Boston, 1798.

This second American edition of *The new art of cookery* shows the suggested bill of fare for a November banquet consisting of first and second courses. All the dishes mentioned were intended to be

put on the table at one meal; people ate what was placed nearest them. Fortunately, the guests were not expected to finish all of the food provided.

39. "[Wines]" in: George Fisher. *The instructor: or, American young man's best companion*. Worcester, 1786.

These directions for producing "sundry sorts of American wines" are found in *The instructor*, which was primarily a manual to prepare young gentlemen for a livelihood in the world of business. The author also includes an addenda entitled "The family's best companion" directed to younger women in need of information about the performance of household duties. Besides the artificial claret and currant and gooseberry wines shown here, recipes are also given for raspberry, damson, grape, strawberry, and cherry wines.

40. "[Distillation equipment]" in: A. Cooper. *The complete distiller*. London, 1757.

This manual by Cooper, himself a distiller, was written for both other professionals and individuals desiring "simple and compound waters for their own use, or to distribute to their indigent neighbors." It was also published with the hope of producing alcohol in Great Britain equal in quality to those made in France and Italy. The author included a wide array of recipes using a variety of natural products including roses, lemons, oranges, caraway, cinnamon, fennel, peppermint, spearmint, nutmeg, and horseradish.

(Gift of the Associates)

41. "[Coffee makers and service sets]" in: José Mariano da Conceição Velloso. *O fazendeiro do Brazil*. Lisbon, 1798-1806.

A wide variety of machines and recipes exist for making coffee, all aiming to preserve the aroma and flavor of the beans. Whatever method is employed, the essential requirements for successful preparation are properly roasted, freshly ground coffee beans, freshly boiling water, and absolute cleanliness of the utensils. This engraving of late eighteenth century coffee makers and

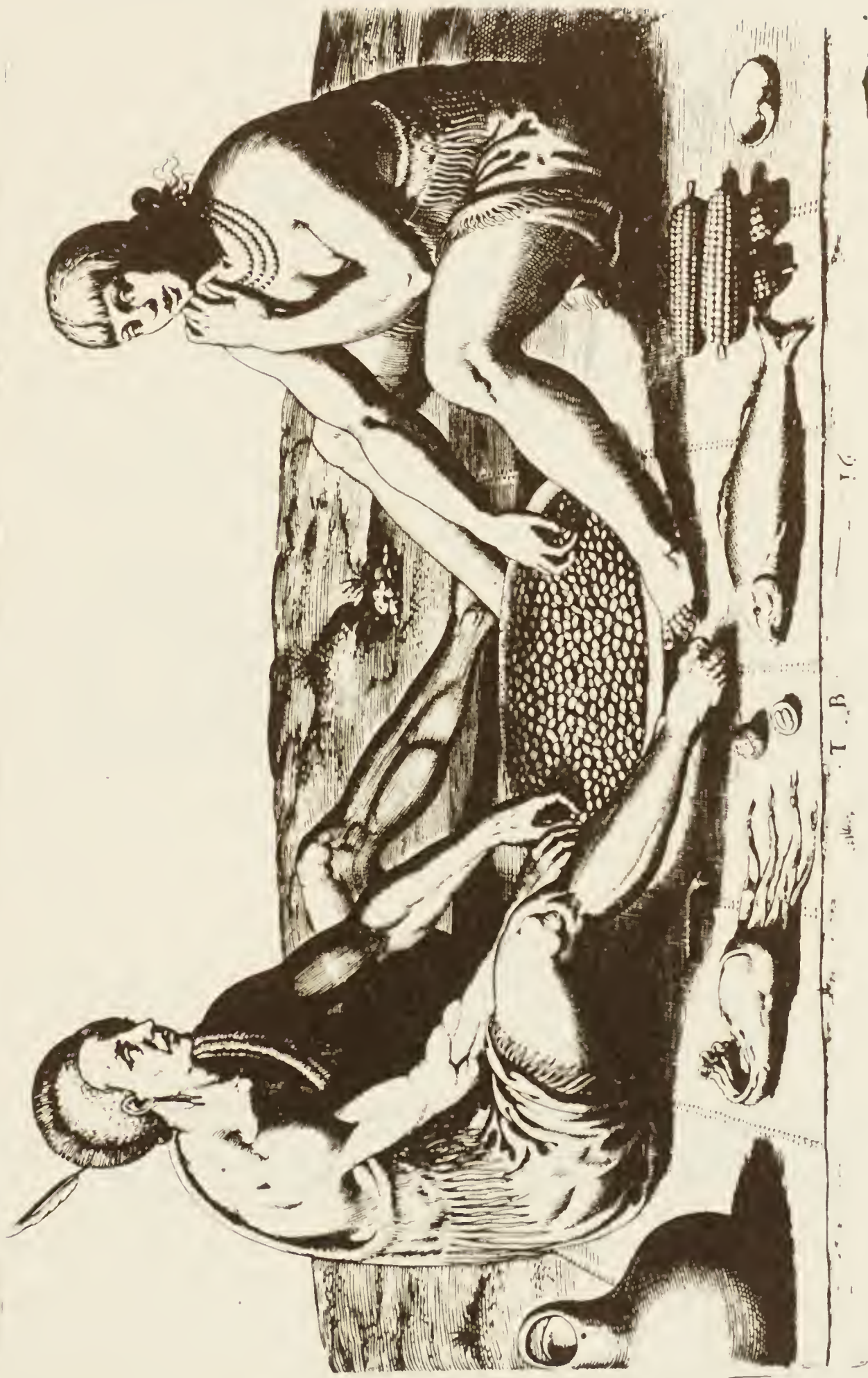


Fig. 9.
Native Americans eating.
From: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages*. Part one (Frankfurt, 1590), plate 16. (See item 42).



Fig. 10.

Native American and cacao.

From: Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* (Lyons, 1685), facing p.305. (See item 54).

service sets is from Frei Velloso's ten part work *O fazandeiro do Brazil* (also see item #26), which included three books devoted to the production of the "bebidas alimentosas" coffee and cacao.

(Louisa Dexter Sharpe Metcalf Fund)

IV. Consumption

"Animals feed, man eats, wise men alone know how to eat."

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, French lawyer, economist, and gastronome in his *The Physiology of Taste*.

THE CONSUMPTION OF FOOD serves functions beyond meeting nutritional needs. Eating also has medicinal, social, cultural, and religious ramifications. Rituals involving food are enacted not only for spiritual purposes but also in the everyday customs and manners of serving and enjoying food. The act completes the series of transformations that food undergoes from earth and sea to kitchen to table.

42. "Their sitting at meate" in: Theodor De Bry. *Grands voyages*. Part one. Frankfurt, 1590.

Maize is shown here combined with meat as the main dish of a meal eaten by natives of "Virginia." Other edibles illustrated are corn on the cob, fish, and walnuts. According to Hariot, walnut milk was sometimes added to the Indians' pottage.

The custom of sitting on the ground to eat, as shown here, was considered barbarous by European conventions. In fact, in De Bry's published illustration, the engraver altered the position of the legs to one considered more comfortable by European standards. In John White's original drawing, also displayed here in a photographic reproduction, a more severe dining posture is depicted.

43. “[Consuming habits of Brazilian natives]” in: Charles Brockwell. *The natural and political history of Portugal... To which is added, The history of Brazil*. London, 1726.

Brockwell’s history of Portugal, purportedly the first of its kind in English, included reports on the overseas colonies in Asia, Africa, and America. His chapter on Brazil includes this passage describing the diet, drinking habits, and pre- and post- conquest eating utensils of the natives of Brazil.

44. “[An Indian feast]” in: *The history of Caledonia: or, The Scots colony in Darien in the West Indies*. London, 1699.

“The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies” was created in 1695 to promote business directly between the East and West Indies by means of navigation across the Pacific. The Scottish company’s goal was to compete with the Dutch and Spanish for trade and to improve Scotland’s economic potential. The Darien Colony, located on the isthmus of Panama, was one part of this enterprise. The scheme was short-lived, however, due to opposition by both the English government and the East India Company, which caused English investors to withdraw. The company sponsored two expeditions, but both failed due to poor leadership, inadequate equipment, disease, and the animosity of the Spanish, who saw the establishment of the colony as an act of hostility.

This brief account of this early Scottish colony contains a chapter on the Darien Indians, including this description of a native feast held for the colonists.

45. “[First Thanksgiving in the colonies]” in: *[Mourt’s relation]*. London, 1622.

Thanksgiving Day celebrates the most famous meal eaten in the British colonies. The legend states that a fine harvest was reaped by the Pilgrim colony after a harsh winter of great suffering and privation. The actual documentation of the feast, as seen on page 60, reveals a much less hearty meal than that described for schoolchildren today.

Mourt’s relation is the first book published in Great Britain that describes the beginnings of the Plymouth colony. While some

sections have been attributed to William Bradford, the main portion of this narrative was probably written by Edward Winslow. G. Mourt, by whose name the book is commonly known, seems to have had no other connection with the work than that of writing the preface and delivering the manuscript to the printer.

46. "[Eating in the tropics]" in: Thomas Trapham. *A discourse on the state of health in the island of Jamaica*. London, 1679.

In addition to his descriptions of "the air, the place, and the water" of Jamaica, Trapham discussed many of the diseases to which the Europeans were susceptible. In his chapter "Of the customs and manners of living," he wrote that it was necessary to change one's living and eating patterns to accommodate the change in climate which most colonists experienced. He suggested eating more sparingly and frequently. In particular, he recommended the consumption of sea tortoises, the Jew fish, and native fruits and vegetables. He also favored wine from Madeira and chocolate, "the Manna of the West Indies."

47. "[The diets of planters and slaves compared]" in: Peter Marsden. *An account of the island of Jamaica; with reflections on the treatment, occupation, and provisions of the slaves*. Newcastle, 1788.

The abolition of slavery was a topic of national concern in England by the late eighteenth century. The author, who supported abolition, hoped his account of the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica would be a useful addition to the debate. His observations were made during a year-long stay on a large estate in the parish of Clarendon. Here he discusses the differences in the diets of the merchants and the slaves.

48. "[The Barbeque]" in: John Singleton. *A description of the West-Indies. A poem, in four books*. London, 1777.

This ode to life in the West Indies was written by Singleton during his travels to the islands. The poem includes evocations of the climate, reflections on the slave trade, and descriptions of pirates, a hurricane, sugar cane, and this barbeque:

The sable cooks, with utensils prepar'd
 Their several stations take, and crackling flame
 Enkindle, not with bellows, but with lungs
 Expert at blowing culinary blasts.

The menu included herbage, several kinds of meat, cheese, beer, wine and other liquors, and "cooling sherbets" for dessert.

49. "[Road food]" in: Isaac Weld. *Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of upper and lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797*. London, 1799.

The problem of finding palatable food while "on the road" is by no means only a twentieth-century phenomenon. In his journey through the United States and Canada in the late 1700s, Isaac Weld ruminated on the culinary dissatisfactions experienced away from home:

"The taverns throughout this part of the country are kept by farmers and they are all very indifferent. If the traveller can procure a few eggs with a little bacon he ought to rest satisfied, it is twenty to one that a bit of fresh meat is to be had, or any salted meat except pork."

50. "[Leftovers]" in: Trelawney Wentworth. *The West India sketch book*. London, 1834.

The more delicious aspects of leftovers (referred to here as a ratoon dinner, the word being derived from terminology employed in sugar cane production) are explored in this passage of Trelawney's sketch book. The author, who lived in the West Indies for several years during the 1820s, seemed to have been dining continuously during his visit to the island of Santa Cruz (today known as Saint Croix). Here he writes how the "surplus edibles of yesterday's banquet" are made more agreeable by friendly conversation, dancing, cold beverages, and female companionship.

51. "Chocolate" in: Thomas Gage. *The English-American his travail by sea and land: or, A new survey of the West-India's*. London, 1648.

Chocolate is a product of the cacao tree and was highly favored by the Aztecs as a beverage in pre-Columbian times. It was

introduced to the English by Thomas Gage, a Dominican monk who spent a dozen years in Mexico and Central America before returning to England and publishing this memoir.

Gage wrote of the variety of ingredients that were added to "this chocolattical confection" such as black pepper, red chili peppers, white sugar, cinnamon, clove, almonds, and hazelnuts. At the bottom of page 107, he also remarks upon the stimulant effect of chocolate from what we now know as caffeine: "And this especially . . . causeth watchfulnesse, and drives away sleep and therefore . . . is chiefly spent by the ordinary and meaner sort of people."

52. "Chocolatte" in: Henry Stubbe. *The Indian nectar, or A discourse concerning chocolata*. London, 1662.

Chocolate's reception in England was mixed—evoking enthusiasm as well as opposition. Henry Stubbe, "Physician to the Island of Jamaica," was a strong proponent of the use of the beverage, citing its great medicinal qualities, "especially in Hypochondrical Melancholy." Here the author describes a recipe for drinking cold chocolate that was used by Indians during their feasts.

53. "[Recreational beverages] in: *The natural history of coffee, thee, chocolate, tobacco*. London, 1682.

Coffee, tea, and cocoa provided the well-to-do European with a genteel and sober alternative to alcohol and to the taverns and ale houses where the latter was consumed. At first considered a luxury, these nonalcoholic stimulants were considered common fare by all but the poorest members of society by the end of the seventeenth century.

Before it became the practice to serve coffee in private homes, coffeehouses were the main sources of refreshment and stimulation. These meeting places became centers for gambling, gossip, and political and literary discussions. Restrictions were periodically imposed on coffeehouses due to the belief that they were breeding grounds for political malcontents.

54. "Americain avec sa chocolatiere et son gobelet" in: Philippe Sylvestre Dufour. *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*. Lyons, 1685.

(Lathrop C. Harper Fund)

55. "[Coffee, tea, and chocolate personified]" in: Philippe Sylvestre Dufour. *Tractatus novi, de potu caphé, de Chinen-sium thé, et de chocolata*. Paris, 1685.

Dufour's treatise, displayed here in its 1685 French and Latin editions, is actually a compilation and adaptation of five seventeenth-century works on coffee, tea, and chocolate. It includes a dialogue concerning chocolate between a doctor, an Indian, and a bourgeois, which was originally written by the Spanish doctor Bartolomé Marradón.

56. "Chocolate speedily repairs the dissipated spirits and decay'd strength" in: D. de Quélus. *The natural history of chocolate*. London, 1724.

This account is the English translation of D. de Quélus's *Histoire naturelle du Cacao, et du sucre*, first published in Paris in 1719. It includes descriptions of the cacao tree and its cultivation as well as chapters on the uses and properties of chocolate. Here the author discusses chocolate's ability to restore mental and physical well-being: "For if a person, for example, fatigued with long and hard labor, or with a violent agitation of mind, takes a good dish of chocolate, he shall perceive almost instantly, that his faintness shall cease, and his strength shall be recovered, when digestion is hardly begun."



